CIIL Phonetic Reader Series-11

KUVI
PHONETIC READER

B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY
SUSHEELA P. UPADHYAYA
JOY REDDY

सत्यमेव जयते

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
MYSORE–6

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PHONETIC READER SERIES-11

Editor
E. ANNAMALAI

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Foreword

The Central Institute of Indian Languages was set up on the 17th July, 1969 with a view to assisting and co-ordinating the development of Indian Languages. The Institute was charged with the responsibility of serving as a nucleus to bring together all the research and literary out-put from the various linguistic streams to a common head and narrowing the gap between basic research and developmental research in the fields of languages and linguistics in India.

The Institute and its four regional centres are thus engaged in research and teaching which lead to the publication of a wide-ranging variety of materials. Preparation of materials designed for teaching/learning at different levels and suited to specific needs is one of the major areas of interest of the Institute. Basic research relating to the acquisition of language and study of language in its manifold psycho-social relations constitute another broad range of its interest. The publications will include materials produced by the members of the staff of the Central Institute of Indian Languages and its Regional Language Centres and associated scholars from Universities and Institutions, both Indian and foreign.

The Central Institute of Indian Languages has initiated the Phonetic Reader Series in Indian languages with a view to presenting the range of phonetic variation obtaining in this sub-contiment and demonstrating the closeness of languages on the basis of phonetic patterning. These Readers are biased towards learning the sound systems of languages. Thus it is hoped that this series will be of interest to both scholars who are interested in

Phonetic studies and practical learners of languages who wish to make a beginning in their language study.

If these materials help solving the problems in the State and help in understanding the people speaking the language, then our efforts will have been amply rewarded.

Debi Prasanna Pattanayak

Preface

The tribal people in India have for long lived in isolation except to be exposed for exploitation. They have not participated to their benefit in the socio-economic development of the country. To come out of their isolation, it is necessary for them to learn the language of the majority people around them and a number of them have done so. But this bridges the communication gap only in one way and the whole burden of building up this bridge is carried by the minority group. It is necessary, however, for developing mutual understanding and good will to increase bidirectional communication between the tribal people and the majority people of the region. For this purpose, the majority people, especially those who come into contact with the tribal people for various reasons such as civil administration, security, social service, trade, etc., should learn their language. The Phonetic Reader, which forms part of a package consisting of Grammar, Bi- or Tri-lingual Dictionary and Teaching Manual, is prepared to help them in their learning of the tribal language.

The Phonetic Reader gives a general description of the human speech sounds and the organs of speech that produce them, a detailed description of the production of the sounds of the particular language drills to practice those sounds, the phonemic inventory and an orthography best suited for that language. The general description of the human speech sounds introduces and explains the technical terminology. The description of the sounds of the language under consideration is made lucid enough for the person not trained in linguistics to understand even, perhaps, at the risk of being repetitive at times. After describing how each sound is produced, the technical name of the sound is given for identification and its distribution in a word. This is followed, wherever possible, by a comparison with the similar sound in other languages assumed to be known to the prospective users of the book. Then comes the list of words containing the sounds. This section will help the reader to identify the sounds of the language he is learning and to reproduce them in isolation and in words. Words for drill are given for the learner to practice correct pronunciation and to differentiate between similar sounds.

The script suggested is normally the script of the majority or the official language of the region. This is to take the barrier of script out for the learner from the majority group and more importantly to ease the switch over of the tribal children from their mothertongue to the majority language at some point in their schooling. This will also make biliterate the tribal adults who can already speak the majority language when they are taught reading and writing of their mothertongue. The modifications given are only suggestive and they take into consideration the conventions of the adopted script, the practices already in vogue if the script is being used by the language under consideration and the technological convenience.

Though the Phonetic Reader is primarily aimed at the language learner and teacher, it is hoped that it will be also useful to linguists interested in typology and universals. The section on script will of be interest to language planners.

Except when the writer himself is the native speaker of the language analysed, data are collected in the field primarily from one informant and then checked with a few other informants. Care is taken to transcribe the sounds as accurately as possible. Still some inadvertent lapses might remain. There might still be room for improving the presentation of the material. Comments and suggestions passed on to us will be useful to improve our future publications in the series.

E. ANNAMALAI

Acknowledgement

The work on the Kuvi language was interrupted twice since two successive research workers who worked on it left the Institute. This work is thus a product of contributions made by three research workers at various stages and in various degrees. Mr. B. Rama Krishna Reddy made the field trips and collected and transcribed the data. He made a tentative phonemic analysis of Kuvi. Dr. (Mrs.) Susheela Upadhyaya wrote the first draft of the phonetic reader using the material found in Mr. Reddy's field notes and tapes. Miss Joy Reddy checked the data presented in the Reader, examined the Oriya Script suggested for Kuvi and prepared the press copy.

Mr. G. C. Singh and Mr. Adikanda Rath, teacher trainees from Orissa in the Southern Regional Language Centre helped in the initial stages to draw up the correspondence between Kuvi phonemics and Oriya script. Dr. D. P. Pattanayak and Mr. B. P. Mohapatra scrutinized it and gave valuable suggestions for modifications on the Oriya script to suit the Kuvi phonemic system. Dr. H. S. Biligiri visited the field during the first trip, guided in field methods and checked the transcription.

The data were collected during two field trips to Orissa in 1971 and 1972 during which time help and cooperation were extented by many officials and non-officials. Special mention must be made of the Secratary of Education Government of Orissa for the initiative and interest in the project, the Directors of Education, Orissa, Officers of the Education Dept. Koraput District and Mr. Gopinath Mohanty, Bhubaneswar for their help all along the work.

The principal informant Mr. Mandanji Bojjiyya of Tumdiguda must be thanked for his patience, cooperation and intelligence. Other informants, Mr. Miniyaka Kurma, Mr. Vdaya Sauta, of Lakshmipur, Mr. Butti and Mr. Kadraka Gopalam of Muniguda also deserve our thanks for the additional data they provided on dialects.

Editor.

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Introduction

Kuvi is a Central Dravidian Language spoken in the border districts of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. It is closely related to Kui. The tribes who speak the Kuvi and the Kui languages are called by the name Khond or Kondh. It is difficult to ascertain the number of Kuvi speakers. Kuvi was not returned as a mother-tongue in the 1961 census. "Apparently Kuvi speaking Khonds prefer to return their tribal name only as their mother-tongue".[1] The number of speakers reported for Khond in the 1961 census is 1,68,027 of which 1,44,922 live in Orissa, 22,730 in Andhra Pradesh and the rest elsewhere. However, the census report notes that "Kohnd/Kondh returns as mother tongue should normally indicate the Kui-Kuvi language subgroup of the Central Dravidian. Distinguishing between the Kui and Kuvi speech returns would entail a separate language survey"[2]

Some work has been done in the past on the Kui language.[3] But the work done on Kuvi is relatively very little. After the early work by Schulze and samples in Grierson's Linguistic survey of India (vol IV), the only recent work is a journal article by S. Bhattacharya and T. Burrow, which gives only a short vocabulary of Kuvi along with some notes.[4] So the need for linguistic work on Kuvi including an extensive grammar and dictionary cannot be exaggerated. In the words of the census report again. "In any case for a speech community of this magnitude detailed comprehensive linguistic data are any time commendable"[5]

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[1] R. C. Nigom: *Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census :* Census Centenary Monograph No. 10, Language Division, Office of the Registrar-General India, 1972 (p. 134).

[2] *Ibid* (p. 118).

[3] Schulze, F.V.P. *The grammar of the Kuvi-Khond Language* Madras–1913.

[4] Notes on Kuvi with a short vocabulary *I.I.J.* Vol. 6, 1962–63.

Kuvi has many regional dialects. The present reader is primarly based on the Raygada dialect as spoken in the Tumbiguda village of the Koraput district of the Orissa state. Data was also collected from about a dozen informants residing in the neighbouring areas, for checking and comparisen.

This Phonetic Reader introduces the sound system of Kuvi. It is intended for non-native adult learners of Kuvi and provides phonetic drills besides the description of Kuvi sounds. Keeping in view these learners and their teachers who may not have any training in linguistics, it has been attempted to describe the sounds of Kuvi in a non-technical language as far as possible. It is hoped that this reader will help the learner acquire the correct pronounciation of the Kuvi sounds.

It is divided into five chapters.

Chapter I: gives a brief description of the speech organs involved in the production of speech sounds to give the reader a basic understanding of the mechanism of speech production and to identify the sounds accurately.

Chapter II: gives a detailed description of Kuvi sounds, their technical name, their distribution and some illustrative examples.

Chapter III: gives phonetic drills for practising the pronunciation of Kuvi sounds.

Chapter IV: gives an inventory of Kuvi phonemes, which is followed by a chapter on script. Oriya script with some modifications is suggested for writing Kuvi in the Orissa state in Chapter V.

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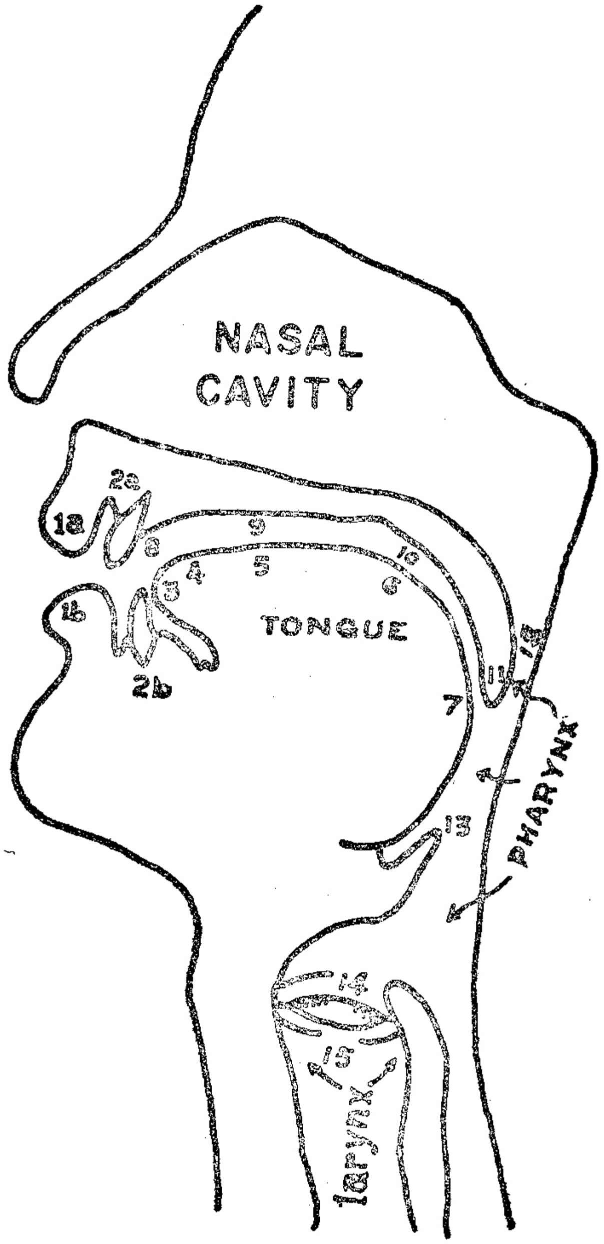
[5] R. C. Nigom, *op-cit.* (P. 118).

I. Organs of Speech

The profile given below gives the speech organs involved in the production of speech sounds.

1a	Upper lip
1b	Lower lip
2a	Upper teeth
2b	Lower teeth
3	Tip of the tongue
4	Blade of the tongue
5	Centre of the tongue (also called middle)
6	Back of the tongue (also called dorsum)
7	Root of the tongue
8	Alveolum (also called teeth ridge)
9	Hard palate
10	Soft palate (also called velum)
11	Uvula
12	Velic
13	Epiglottis
14	Glottis
15	Vocal cords



The organs involved in the production of speech sounnds fall into two broad groups namely articulators and points of articulation. Articulators are generally movable parts whereas points of articulation are stationary. The articulators either move towards or touch the points of articulation in the production of various speech sounds. The following are the organs taking part in the production of Kuvi speech sounds.

Lips: The upper lip is a point of articulation. The lower lip is an articulator, which articulates against the upper lip or the upper teeth.

Teeth: Upper teeth take part in the production of speech sounds as a point of articulation.

Tip of the tongue: This is the extreme end of the front portion of the tongue.

Blade of the tongue: This is the part of the tongue immediately behind the tip.

Front of the tongue: This is the part of the tongue which lies immediately behind the blade of the tongue and directly below the hard palate when it is in normal position.

Back of the tongue: This is the part of the tongue which lies immediately behind the front of the tongue and lies directly below the soft palate when it is in normal position.

Root of the tongue: It is the far end of the tongue.

Alveolar ridge: This is the front portion of the palate immediately behind the upper teeth.

Hard palate: This is the central part of the roof of the mouth, *i.e.*, the palate.

Soft palate: This is the back part of the roof of the mouth. This is also called velum.

Uvula : This is the finger like muscle hanging at the extreme end of the soft palate.

Velic (nasal passage) : This is the opening between the pharyngeal wall and the soft palate. When this is open the air passes through the nasal cavity.

Epiglottis : This is a fleshy part drawn over the wind pipe while swallowing something. This does not have any function in speech production.

Glottis : This is the space between the folds of vocal cords described below.

Vocal cords : These are two lip-like elastic membranes positioned in the larynx. They can be brought together to close tightly or loosely or they can be drawn apart. Their position at the time the air stream passes through changes the manner of articulation in terms of voicing.

Pharynx : This is situated in the throat. The air current coming from the lungs passes through this before it reaches the oral or the nasal cavity.

Larynx : This is the upper most part of the wind pipe. It houses the vocal cords'

In the production of speech sounds the air current coming from the lungs is obstructed or modified in different ways by the various articulators when it passes through the oral or nasal cavity. The ways in which the air current is obstructed are called manners of articulation. The speech sounds are classified on the basis of the point and manner of articulation.

The air current coming from the lungs may be allowed to go out without any obstruction in the oral cavity. But the shape of the oral cavity may be modified by the movements of the tongue and the lips. The sounds produced in this manner are called vowels.

There are three factors involved in the production of vowels. They are the position of the lips, the part of the tongue that modulates the air stream and the height to which the tongue is raised. Depending upon the part of the tongue involved in the production, a vowel is called either front, central or back. i, a, and u are the respective examples. Depending upon the height to which the tongue is raised towards the roof of the mouth a vowel is called high, mid or low. i, o, a, are respective examples. And depending upon the position of the lips, a vowel is called either rounded or unrounded. u, o are the examples for the former and i, e are examples for the latter.

The flow of air from the lungs may be obstructed in some way by the movements of the articulator at some point along the way. The sounds produced in this way are called consonants.

The flow of air from the lungs may be completely stopped for a short time at some point along the way and then released abruptly. The sounds thus produced are stops. p, t, k are few examples.

The flow of air stopped in the way described above may be released slowly instead of abruptly. This produces friction during release. Sounds thus produced are affricates. c, j are some examples.

The oral passage may not be completely blocked but may be constricted at some point so as to leave a narrow aperture through which the air current squeezes through causing audible friction. The sounds thus produced are fricatives. s, h are some examples.

The air current may be completely blocked at some point in the oral cavity but the velic may be open since the soft palate is not raised upwards and the air may passs through the nasal cavity. The sounds produced in this way are nasals. m, n, ṇ, ŋ are some examples.

The flow of air may be stopped in the median line of the oral cavity by the tongue but it may be allowed to pass by either side of the tongue. The sounds thus produced are laterals. l is an example for this.

The flow of air may be stopped intermittently by an elastic organ like the tongue tapping against a point of articulation. The sounds thus produced are trills. If the tap is made only once, the sound is called flap. r, ṛ are examples of flap.

The position of organs may be the same as for fricatives, but the aperture may be wider so that there is no obstruction and no friction. They resemble vowels in not obstructing the air flow. The sounds produced in this way are semi-vowels. y is an example of semi-vowel.

2. Description of Kuvi Sounds

The vowels in Kuvi at the phonetic level are

i i: u u:
e e: o o:
a a:
ĩ ĩ: ũ ũ:
ẽ ẽ: õ õ:
ã ā:

Vowels :

[ī] In the production of this sound the front of the tongue is raised as high as possible towards the front part of the hard palate but not to the extent of making contact and closure or making a narrow constriction and friction. The lips are spread. The soft palate is raised and the vocal cords vibrate.

This is called the high front unrounded short vowel.

It occurs in all three positions *viz.*, initially, medially and finally.

Examples :

Initial		*Medial*	
h	'to twine'	hiṇippa	razor
idi	'this'	piṇḍi	oilcake
ir ? a	'mud'	mir ? esi	'son'
isku : lu	'school'	muŋgili	'nose'
imba ? ã	'here'		

Final

ri	‘two’
ni	‘to stand’
ḍri	‘to drag the feet’
ṭa :ki	‘to touch’
miṭṭi	‘to turn over’
icci :ni	‘little’
sappuṛi	‘sound’
an̲de :ri	‘dark’

[ī]

In the production of this sound the speech organs remain in the same position as in the case of [ī] described above. But they remain for a longer duration and there is more tension.

This is called the high front unrounded long Vowel.

It occurs in all the three positions.

Examples :

Initial		*Medial*	
i :	‘this’	vi : r	‘to get loosened’
i : va : ru	‘this week’	mi : nu	‘fish’
i : ṛu	‘companion’, pair	hi : ŋga	‘turmeric’
i : ñǰu	‘to-day’	si: tapolomi	‘custard apple’

Final

i :	‘this’
ṛi :	‘to weep’
ḍi :	‘to break (a stick)
mi :	‘your’ (Pl.)
ki :	‘to do’
hi :	‘to give’
ji	‘to shoot (an animal)

[e]

In the production this sound the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate but not as high as for [i] described above. The lips are spread. The soft palate is raised and the vocal cords vibrate.

This is called the higher–mid front unrounded short vowel.

It occurs in all the three positions :

Examples :

Initial		*Medial*	
e	‘to reach’ ‘to arrive	ne?e	‘now’
eh	‘to pick (fruits from the tree)’	kellu	‘feather’
edi	‘what’	meṭṭa	‘hill’
eduru	‘against’	ja : keṭi	‘blouse’
emba?a	‘there’	ṋedaḍa	‘brain’
		terphi	‘to turn over’

Final	
a : de	‘a lady friend calling another lady’
ge : de	‘she buffalo’
va : te	‘she, it came’

[e :]

In the production of this sound the speech organs remain in the same position as in the case of [e] described above. But they remain for a longer duration and there is more tension.

This is called the higher–mid front unrounded long vowel.

It occurs in all the three positions.

Examples :

Initial		*Medial*	
e : gi	‘to uncover’	pe : nun	‘pan’
e : yu	‘water’	me : ku	‘nail’

e : khi	‘to uncover’	ke : ṭa	‘cardamom’
e : hki	‘thirst’	te : jo	‘floor’
		ḍe : ra	‘curtain’

Final

je :	start (doing some work)
pre :	‘to chase’, ‘to drive away’

[u]

In the production of this sound the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate, but not to the extent of making any contact or making a narrow constriction. The lips are rounded and the vocal cords vibrate.

The soft palate is raised.

This is called the high back rounded short vowel.

It occurs in all the three positions.

Examples :

Initial		*Medial*	
un	‘to drink, to smoke’	ṛuggi	‘to hide (one self)’
uvi	‘they’, ‘their’	samudromi	‘sea’
uhi	‘to plant’	tuṛiya	‘rafter’
uṭṭu	‘camel’	ruhṇi	‘name of a star’
uppa : sṭi	‘fast’	guruvu	‘teacher’
uttoromi	‘letter’	kuggori	‘sparrow’
uste	‘she, it pounded’		

Final

mṛa : lu	‘hare’
ba : tu	‘duck’
tṛe : lu	‘cream’
ra : ŋgu	‘breast’
bo : ṇḍo pu : yu	‘marigold’

[u :]

In the production of this round the speech organs remain in the same position as in the case of [u] described above. But they remain for a longer duration and are more tense.

This is called the high back rounded long vowel.

This occurs in all the three positions.

Examples :

Initial		*Medial*	
u : ki	'to blow pipe'	ḍu : ku	'verandah'
u : ṇa	'small', 'little'	ku : rda	'straw'
u : rika : ya	'pickle'	mu : hũ	'wild monkey'
u : da	'damp, wet'	mu : ṇa	'pocket'
		tu : ngi	'to swing'

Final	
ku :	to dislike
kṇu :	to set

[o]

In the production of this sound the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate but not as high as for [u] described above. The lips are rounded, vocal cords vibrate and the soft palate is raised.

This is called the higher–mid back rounded short vowel.

This occurs in all the three positions.

Examples :

Initial		*Medial*	
oh	'to break' (a pot)	koḍḍa	'leg'
oṇḍa	'cooked rice'	poṛugu	'tall'
oṭṭomi	'loss'	pallomi	'marsh'
oḍḍoṛomi	'women's girdle'	sokka	'shirt'
oppakoḍḍi	'to confirm, to approve'		

Final

ro	‘ one ’
osso	‘ medicine ’
donno	‘ cup made of leaves ’
dosso	‘ ten ’
miŋgo	‘ you ’
kormo	‘ fortune ’
paṋdoo	‘ fifteen ’
ro : ? o	‘ soot ’
jabboro	‘ neatness ’

[o :]

In the production of this sound the speech organs remain in the same position as in the case of [o] mentioned above. But they remain for a longer period and are more tense.

This is called the higher-mid back rounded long vowel.

This occurs in all the three positions.

Examples :

Initial

o:	‘ to come and get, to lead ’ (an animal)
o : ti	‘ anaemia ’
o : ḍu	‘ part, share ’
o : ra	‘ furrow ’

Medial

ro : h	‘ to insert ’
ro : gomi	‘ illness ’
bo : ṇo	‘ nest ’
ṭo : pi	‘ cap ’
so : yi	‘ friend ’
so : ṛo	‘ sixteen ’

Final

bo :	to spill (liquid)
ho :	to start

[a]

In the production of this sound the centre of the tongue is at the lowest position. The lips are spread and the vocal cords vibrate. The soft palate is raised.

This is called the low central unrounded short vowel.

It occurs in all the three positions.

Examples :

Initial		*Medial*	
ah	to catch, to hold	kannu	‘ eye ’
akku	ancestor	balla	‘ slate ’
avva	elder brother’s wife	mañču	‘ dew ’
ande : ri	darkness	taya : ru	‘ ready ’
alava : ṭu	habit	pañčadara	‘ sugar ’
allomi	ginger.	ḍahara	‘ Jealousy

Final	
avva	‘ elder brother’s wife
varda	‘ flood ’
herra	‘ fodder
ho : ṛa	‘ moustache ’
meṭṭa	‘ hill ’

[a :]

In the production of this sound the speech organs remain in the same position as in the case of

[a]

mentioned above. But they remain for a longer period and are more tense.

This is called the higher-mid back un-rounded long vowel.

This occurs in all the three positions.

Examples :

	Initial		*Medial*
a :	to become ', ' to happen '	ja : ṇva	' twin '
a : ku	' leaf ', ' page '	kṛa : li	' axe '
a : ṭu	' attic '	kṛa : ni	' tiger '
a : ba	' my father '	bicca : ra	' grief sorrow
a : lsomi	' late '	ruma : lu	'hand kerchief '
a : nai	' what '	ka : ṋdiri	' anger '
a : ku pacca	' green '		

	Final
ka :	' to watch '
ha :	' to die '
pṛa :	' to obtain '

Nasalized vowels :

All the vowels described above can be nasalized. Nasalisation is a co-articulatory feature which occurs simultaneously with the oral articulation. For nasalization to take place the velum is lowered so that the nasal passage is open and the air passes through that passage also. The articulatory movements of the speech organs remain the same in the oral passage for each vowel as described above.

All the nasalized vowels except [ĩ :] and [ẽ :] and [ō :] occur in the final position. All of them except [ũ :] occur in the medial position. None of them occur in the initial position. In general the nasalised vowels have low frequency.

[ĩ]

High front unrounded short nasalized vowel.

hĩyĕ : ṇi	' shade '
sĩvõsi	' pus '
kirĩyã taṭṭi	' beehive '
bẽyyĩ	' fence '

sahĩ	‘ porcupine
orlihĩ	‘ rats ’

[ĩ :]

High front unrounded long nasalized vowel.

kriyyã nĩ : yũ ‘ honey ’

[ẽ]

bẽyyĩ	‘ fence ’
ko : hẽṇi	‘ elbow ’
mẽyyĩ	‘ graze (cattle)
ga : ddehẽ	‘ asses ’

[ẽ :]

Higher-mid front unrounded long nasalized vowel

tẽ : ki ‘ teak ’

[ũ]

High back rounded short nasalized vowel.

mã : vũta ʔ esi	‘ elephant driver ’
mũyyã	‘ tinkling bell ’
kriyyã nĩ : yũ	‘ honey ’
trã : yũ	‘ head ’
pi : luŋŋhũ	‘ corpses ’

[u :]

High back rounded long nasalized vowel.

ha : tteyyũ : ‘ death ’

[o]

Higher-mid back rounded short nasalized vowel.

go : nohõe : yu	‘ muddy water ’
bõyyũ	‘ smoke ’
kõyyã	‘ peg (on wall)’
no : hõ	‘ nine ’

bo : ṇoh õ	‘ nests ’
ossohõ	‘ medicines ’

[õ:]

Higher-mid back rounded long nasalized vowel.

tõ : to	‘ garden ’
j ? õ : pe : r	‘ follow (a person) ’

[a]

Low central unrounded short nasalized vowel.

kirĩyã taṭṭi	‘ beehive ’
kriyyã nĩ : yũ	‘ honey ’
mãhṇihĩ	‘ ghosts near graves ’
mũyyã	‘ tinkling bell ’
ba : hã	‘ arm ’
kehlahã	‘ petals ’

[ã :]

Low central unrounded long nasalized vowel.

trã : yũ	‘ head ’
mã : vũta ? esi	‘ elephant driver ’
dã : vã	‘ rope to tie animals ’
pã : vcu	‘ step ’
ba : hã :	‘ arms ’

Consonants :

The consonants in Kuvi at the phonetic level are

p		t		ṭ		k	?
b		d		ḍ		g	
			c		č		
			j		ǰ		
m		n̪	n	ṇ	ñ	ŋ	
	v		s	ṣ			h
			l	ḷ			
			r	ṛ			
					y		

Stops :

[p]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is stopped by raising the lower lip to touch against the upper lip. The closure is released abruptly after a short period. The vocal cords do not vibrate during the production of this sound. The soft palate is raised to close the nasal passage.

This is called the voiceless bilabial stop.

This occurs in the environments given in the following examples.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

pa : cu	' song '
pa : lu	' milk '
pallu	' teeth '
parti	' cotton '
poṛugu	' tall '
pudda : ra	' Wednesday '

Initially in clusters

pro : ṇḍo	'grasshopper'
pṛa : li	'hive of humble bee'
pre :	'chase (drive away)'
pre : hiah	'overtake'
pra :	'sell'

Medially between vowels

ti : pa	' sweet '
bo : pi	' younger sister, a term used to address a girl'
ve : yapu : ṭa	' dawn '

Medially in gemination

kappa	' frog '
juppi	' to suck '

hiṇippa	‘ razor ’
sappuṛi	‘ sound ’
seppeki :	‘ to press ’
pippeli : ka	‘ knives ’

Medially after homorganic nasal

ka : mpi	‘to scald’
rampomi	‘saw’
sa : mpu	‘ever’

Medially in clusters

apkaḍunga	‘ quiver ’
sipla	‘ chips of wood ’
ḍaphi :	‘ brek (a rope) ’
supṛi	‘ wrinkled ’
kupṭa	‘ leaves ’
ja : phi	‘ to teach ’
kotpi	‘ to tap, to knock ’
oṇpu	‘ memory ’
darpeṇi	‘ mirror ’
parpu	‘ bed ’
kalpi	‘ to mix, to dissolve ’
hahpi	‘ challenge ’
puhpiki :	‘ to wean a child ’.

[b]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is stopped by raising the lower lip against the upper lip as for [p]. The closure is released abruptly after a short period. The nasal passage is blocked by raising the soft palate. But, unlike for [p], the vocal cords are vibrated.

This is called the voiced bilabial stop.

This occurs in the environments given in the following examples.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

baruvu	‘heavy’
burda	‘mud’
bẽyyĩ	‘fence’
bilei	‘cat’
baṇḍi	‘belly, cart’

Initially in clusters

bṇe : ? erika	‘type of peacock flocking in herds’
bṇe : komi	‘kind of cucumber’
bressu	‘brush’

Medially between vowels

sara : bu	‘carpenter’
saniba : ra	‘Satuṛday’

Medially in gemination

ubbi	‘to swell (as grain when soaked)’
rubbi	‘to rub‘
sabbu	‘soap’
tibba	‘rust’

Medially after homorganic nasal

bi : mbi	‘gnat’
ka : mba	‘sickle’
bimbini : yũ	‘neem oil’
tambomi	pillar

Medially in clusters

nabgi	‘ to have intercourse ’
sa : rbuyã	‘ carpenters’
habda	‘ sound’
ha : bṛa	‘ crow-bar’
ṭubgihi	‘ small tiger’

venbetin	' to beg'
garbomi	' pride'
garbi	' poor'
kumbre ? esi	' potter'
darmbu	' ashes'

[t]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is stopped by raising the tip of the tongue to touch against the upper teeth. The vocal cords do not vibrate and the soft palate is raised. When the contact is released abruptly the air escapes with slight explosion.

This is called the voiceless dental stop.

This occurs in the environments given in the following examples.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

tinnaṇa	'straight'
taphi	'stop, cease, (doing something)'
taggu	'dispute'
tummu	'to sneeze'
ti : pa	'sweet'

Initially in clusters

tṛe : lu	cream
tra : yũ	head
tra : na	heart

Medially between vowels

ba : tu	' duck '
po : tu	' male animal '
va : yiti	' dry '
lehẽti	' last '
ka : kitomi	' paper '

Medially in gemination

etti	‘to carry (a baby)’
ettu	‘height’
gottaki :	‘to establish relation’
mattu	‘intoxication’
kuttinai	‘stitching’
uttoromi	‘letter’
hittiṛi	‘ cold’

Medially after homorganic nasal

baṋti	‘ball’
buṋta	‘mattress’
la : ṋteri	‘lantern’
maṋtri	‘minister’

Medially in clusters

vetki a :	‘to flutter’
jatpuri	‘a kind of golden ornament worn’ ‘in the plait’
na : tya	‘grandson’
a : supatri	‘hospital’
potle ? esi	‘father-in-law’
tothi	‘to stutter’
roytu	‘farmer’
koṛta	‘gram’
baṛti	‘lamp made of mud’
baltaka : romiki :	‘to compell, force’
parti	‘cotton’
ṛu : sta	‘smooth’
ne : sturi	‘breath’

[d]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is stopped by raising the tip of the tongue to touch against the upper teeth as in the case of [t]. The soft palate is raised.

When the contact is released abruptly the air escapes with slight explosion. The vocal cords vibrate unlike for [t].

This is called the voiced dental stop.

It occurs in the environments given in the following examples.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

da :	‘to harvest, to cut’
da : da	‘elder brother’
de : rka	‘bamboo’
deŋgṇe ? esi	‘bachelor’
danomi	‘wealth’
dairomi	‘leave’
damḍi	‘pice’

Initially in clusters

druñji	‘to get stuck’

Medially between vowels

gadi	‘room’
bo : da	‘mercy’
eduru	‘against’
saduvu	‘education’

Medially in gemination

adda	‘half’
addomi	‘mirror’
kudda : la : nisi	‘chameleon’
gaddi	‘throne’

Medially after homorganic nasal

aṋderi	‘darkness’
ka : ṋdi ki :	‘to boil’

kra : ŋ̭du	'mongoose'
uŋ̭du	'to take, to accept'

Medially in clusters

kudgu	'thigh hindleg of an animal'
podmapu : yu	'lotus'
adra	'half'
podli	'to swell'
gudva :	'flame'
gudvia	'collide (two moving bodies)'
agdama ? esi	'the day after tomorrow'
ga : ḍde	'ass'
sobdo	'sound'
samda	'pandal'
burda	'mud'
atteduhda	'more, addition'
gaŋ̭dri	'dirty'
caŋ̭dna	'sandal wood'
bo : ŋ̭dli	'big bolt for the door'
ma : rŋ̭de ? esi	'husband's younger brother'

[ṭ]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is stopped by curling back the tip of the tongue and raising it to touch the hard palate. The vocal cords do not vibrate and the soft palate is raised. When the contact is released obruptly the air current escapes with slight explosion.

This is called the voiceless retroflex stop.

This occurs in the environments given below in the examples.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

ṭa : ḍi	'blister'
ṭo : peri	'umbrella'

ṭo : pi	‘cap’
ṭiri	‘thunderbolt‘
ṭe : buli	‘table’
ṭimṇi	‘small drum’
ṭikkeli	‘spot (on an animal’s body)’

Initially in clusters

ṭṇi	‘to twist the moustache’
baṇṭro : ti	‘attendant’

Medially between vowels

tõ : ṭo	‘garden’
pa : ṭa	‘slate’
ja : kaṭu	‘blouse’
ru : ṭi	‘a snack cooked out of flour’
kiṭiki	‘window’

Medially in gemination

jaṭṭa	‘plait of hair’
jaṭṭu	‘company, friend’
koṭṭu	‘barn’
bu : ṭṭu	‘shoe’
puṭṭi	‘twenty thousand’
maṭṭi	‘to scatter’
muṭṭi	‘fist’

Medially after homorganic nasal

gaṇṭa	‘hour’
eṇṭane	‘immediately’

Medially in clusters

iṭke : ṛi	‘storey’
baṭka : ṛi	‘fisherman’s wife’
eṭka	‘separate’
u : ṭhi :	‘drink’
mu : ṭla	‘hammer’

poṭlaka : ya	'snake gourd'
ka : ṭri	'knife'
e : nṭikarra	'pole of a plough'
nakṭa	'bed bug'
bakṭe ? esi	'fisherman'
iṣṭomia :	'like'
kaṣṭo	'labour'
sikṭi	'a type of rat'
kupṭa	'leaves'

[ḍ]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is stopped by curling back the tip of the tongue and raising it to touch the hard palate as in the case of [ṭ]. The soft palate is raised. When the contact is released abruplty the air current escapes with slight explosion. But unlike for [ṭ] the vocal cords vibrate.

This is called the voiced retroflex stop.

It occurs in the environment given in the examples below.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

ḍa	'to emaciate due to starvation'
ḍabbu	'wealth'
ḍahri	'small torn cloth'
ḍokra	'husband'
ḍe : ra	'curtain'
ḍe : re ? esi	'weaver'
ḍeggara	'near'

Initially in clusters

ḍrahli	'torn cloth'
ḍre : ki	'to snore'
ḍro : gi	'muahroom that grows on tree trunks'

Medially between vowels

ta : ḍi	'blister'
to : ḍua	'to help'
ergaḍoveli	'knife used to cut bushes'
jo : ḍi	'pair'

Medially in gemination

aḍḍe	'cross'
guḍḍu	'kabbadi'
sirabuḍḍi	'inkpot'
aḍḍukommi	'nose ring'
paḍḍi	'to get spoiled'
oḍḍiki :	'to defecate'
paḍḍi ki :	'to bring up children'

Medially after homorganic nasal

aṇḍi	'to serve'
jeṇḍa	'flag'
reylibaṇḍi	'train'
suṇḍamanni	'shut'

Medially in clusters

maḍta	'fold'
ga : ḍde	'ass'
ḍappumaḍwa	'rim of ' ḍa : ngra '
teḍli ma : ra	'thread worn on the waist'
aḍgu mañj ihĩ	' raw rice '
addomi maḍwa	' sash '
kakḍomi	'armlet worn by men'
apḍa : lu	'papad'
kumḍa	'pumpkin'
ku : rḍa	'stalk'
kurḍa	'central portion of the jackfruit'
aḍapuṇḍra	' husband, wife '

Medially between vowels

ta : ḍi	'blister'
to : ḍua	'to help'
ergaḍoveli	'knife used to cut bushes'
jo : ḍi	'pair'

Medially in gemination

aḍḍe	'cross'
guḍḍu	'kabbadi'
sirabuḍḍi	'inkpot'
aḍḍukommi	'nose ring'
paḍḍi	'to get spoiled'
oḍḍiki :	'to defecate'
paḍḍi ki :	'to bring up children'

Medially after homorganic nasal

aṇḍi	'to serve'
jeṇḍa	'flag'
reylibaṇḍi	'train'
suṇḍamanni	'shut'

Medially in clusters

maḍta	'fold'
ga : ḍde	'ass'
ḍappumaḍwa	'rim of ' ḍa : ngra '
teḍli ma : ra	'thread worn on the waist'
aḍgu mañǰ ihĩ	' raw rice '
addomi maḍwa	' sash '
kakḍomi	'armlet worn by men'
apḍa : lu	'papad'
kumḍa	'pumpkin'
ku : rḍa	'stalk'
kurḍa	'central portion of the jackfruit'
aḍapuṇḍra	' husband, wife '

sakkomi	'half'
no : ṭibukku	'notebook'

Medially after homorganic nasal

peŋku	'tile'
ṛe : ŋki	'to sharpen'
boŋku	'false'

Medially in clusters

ge : kci	'a kind of bird resembling partridge'
me : ṇḍabokda	'young one of sheep'
nakṭa	'bed bug'
kakṛomi	'armlet worn by men'
pakdiki :	'to split (wood)'
okna a :	'to remember'
rokya ki :	'to protect'
kokri	'young'
ukhi	'to skin'
kapku : ri	'smile'
a : yki :	'to cool'
terkaṛa	'active'
sayka	'sign'
pe : ṇka	'goddess'
e : hki	'thirst'
isku : lu	'school'
baṭka : ṛi	'fisherman's wife'
neskariṇḍi	'those two'

[g]

In the production of this sound the air current coming out of the lungs is stopped by raising the back of th etongue to touch the soft palate as in the case of [k]. The nasal passage is closed and when the contact is released abruptly the air current escapes with slight explosion. But unlike for [k], the vocal cords vibrate.

This is called the voiced velar stop.

It occurs in the environments given in the example below.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

gi : vu	'ghee'
ga : ḍa	'latch, hinge'
gu : ṛu	'jaggery'
guṇḍi	'button'
golusu	'chain of the door'
go : ṛa	'horse'
go : dumi	'wheat'
gadi	'room'

Initially in clusters

gra : hũ	'crocodile'
gra : pi	'to teach'
gre : pi	'to mimic'
gṛih	'to slip'

Medially between vowels

ta : ga	'sunshine'
tige	'necklace'
mu : ga	'dumb'
ro : gomi	'ill, sick'

Medially in gemination

moggarapu : yu	'jasmine'
kuggori	'sparrow'
paggaveṭhi	'to avenge'
pagguṇi	'phalgun, equivalent to Feb-March'

Medially after homorganic nasal

aŋga	'body'
ma : ŋga	'daughter'
muŋgeli	'nose'

Medially in clusters

ugṛa a :	'to slip'
nagromi	'golden ornament worn in the braid'
na : gṛa	'naked'
kudgu	'thigh, hind leg of animal'
nabgi	'to have an intercourse'
boṛga	'stick'
ko : ṛgina : ṛeli	'green coconut'
ṭubgi	'small tiger'
maŋgḍa : ra	'Tuesday'
deŋgṇe ? esi	'bachelor'

[?]

In the production of this sound the air current is stopped at the glottis by bringing the vocal cords into close contact. It does not reach the oral cavity. When the vocal cords are pulled apart abruptly the air escapes to the oral cavity with slight explosion.

This is called the glottal stop.

This occurs in the environment given in the examples below'

Examples :

Medially between vowels

ro : ? o	'soot'
la ? ãhã	'night'
re ? ila	'yesterday'
hi ? e : ṇi	'deer'
gu ? une	'heel'
rohle ? esi	'blacksmith'
ga : he ? esi	'scavenger'

Medially between a consonant and a vowel

ir ? a	'mud'
mar ? a	'wild red rat'

mir ? esi	'son'
hir ? o : ni	'squirrel'
ṭik ? o : ṇi	'buttock, hip'

Affricates :

[c]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is first stopped by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the upper teeth. When the contact is released the tongue is withdrawn slowly so that a narrow passage is made in the process for a moment and the air current escapes through it with friction.

This is called the voiceless alveolar affricate.

This occurs in the environments given in the examples below.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

ci : ni	'sugar'
capḍa	'slab'
caṋdanamra : nu	'sandalwood tree'

Medially between vowels

ba : ca	'blame'
koco : ṭi lu : lu	'cobweb'
ti : coṇi	'sponge gourd'
da : cu	'ladle'

Medially in gemination

icca : ba	'father's younger brother'
kaccakuppi	'scorpion'
hiccuvalli	'firestone'
eccehẽ	'when'
pari : cca	'examination'

[j]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is stopped by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the upper teeth as in the case of [c]. The soft palate is raised. When the contact is released the tongue is withdrawn slowly so that a narrow passage is made in the process for a moment and the air current escapes through it with friction. But, unlike for [c], the vocal cords are vibrated.

This is called the voiced dental affricate.

This occurs in the environments given in the examples below.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

ji	‘to hit’
ji : nu	‘saddle’
jaṋtu	‘animal’
ja : ṇva	‘twin’
ja : ṇḍu	‘fodder’

Medially between vowels

ja : ḍajonto	‘wild animal’
jujomi	‘gambling’
mahara : ja	‘emperor, king’
nijiri	‘truly’
gajomi	‘yard’

Medially in gemination

ujjohal	‘to go home’
ajja ? ã	‘coward’
kajjiti	‘thick’
lajjaninga	‘shy’
kajja ko : ḍa valli	‘rock’

Medially in clusters

meyjo : ḍu	'socks'
surju pu : yu	'sun flower'
karjomi	'man who settles down in his father-in law's house'

[č]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is first stopped by raising the front of the tongue to touch the hard palate. The vocal cords are not vibrated and the soft palate is raised. When the contact is released the tongue is withdrawn slowly so that a narrow passage is formed for a moment in the process and the air current escapes through it with friction.

This is called the voiceless palatal affricate.

This occurs only after the palatal nasal.

Examples :

mañču	'dew'
bariñči	'to endure'
miñčahal	'to excel'
pañčadara	'sugar'
sañči	'bag'
kuñči	'lock'
prapañčomi	'universe'

[ǰ]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is stopped by raising the front of the tongue to touch the hard palate as in the case of [č]. The soft palate is raised and when the contact is released the tongue is withdrawn slowly so that a narrow passage is formed in the process for a moment and the air current escapes through it with friction. But unlike for [č] the vocal cords are vibrated.

This is called the voiced palatal affricate.

This occurs only after the palatal nasal.

gañjeyi	‘opium’
baṇañja	‘sister’s son’
baṇiñji	‘sister’s daughter’
na:ñjo	‘wife’s younger sister’
iñjini	‘engine’
muñjuti	‘wrinkle’
mañjihi	‘rice’
le : ñju	‘twin’

Nasals :

[m]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is blocked by raising the lower lip to touch the upper lip. The vocal cords vibrate. The nasal passage is opened by lowering the soft palate, so that the air stream passes through the nasal cavity.

This is called the voiced bilabial nasal.

This occurs in the environments given in the examples below :

Examples :

Initially before vowels

mi	‘you’
me	‘to drive (cattle)’
meṇha	‘man, husband’
ma : rnu	‘tree’
mungeli	‘nose’

Initially in clusters

mṇa : kci	‘mouse’
mṇukka ḍiṇdini	‘bladder’
mra : nu	‘tree, wood’
mṛa : lu	‘hare’

Medially between vowels

ga: nomi	'echo'
jo : mi	'to rest'
tambomi	'pillar'
pa : pomi	'sin'

Medially in gemination

nammi	'to hope'
ḍommu	'bone'
kammuḍi	'less'

Medially before homorganic stop

ambu	'arrow'
ka:mpi	'to scald'
ḍambi	'to get broken'
rampomi	'saw'
ka : mbo	'handle of the axe'

Medially in clusters

kamla	'orange'
gamsa	'hand towel'
simṭa	'screwpine tongs'
kumḍa	'pumpkin'
simṇa	'axe'
samda	'pandal'
ṭimṇi	'small drum'
a : cmi : la	'torn cloth'
pa : ṇmi	'to crumble'
podma pu : yu	'lotus'
karmula	'orphan'
jilmiliki :	'to shine'
ehmu	'pick the fruit'
ṛompkori	'cough'
ṛa : mpta	'plate'
imbya	'where'
kamblimra : nu	'neem'

[n̪]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from lungs is blocked by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the upper teeth. The vocal cords vibrate. The nasal passage is opened by lowering the soft palate so that the air current passes through the nasal cavity.

This is called the voiced dental nasal.

This occurs only before dental stops.

Examples :

an̪de : ri	'darkness'
ka:n̪di	'to boil something, to warm'
han̪dihurvi	'bigbeaus'
ra : n̪da ki :	'to cook food'
gan̪dri	'dirty'
man̪tri	'minister'

[n]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is blocked by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the alveolum. The vocal cords vibrate. The soft palate is lowered so that the air current passes through the nasal cavity.

This is called the voiced alveolar nasal.

This occurs in the environments given in the examples below. It may be noted that it does not occur before dental stops.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

ni	'you'
neh	'to push into (a bag)'
na:ki	'to lick'

nammi	‘to hope’
naromi	‘brain’
na : gṛa	‘naked’

Medially between vowels

puna:di	‘foundation’
mettani	‘soft’
kuttinai	‘stitching’
ven	‘listen’

Medially in gemination

kannu	‘eye’
baṇḍihanni osso	‘purgative’
sunnomi	‘clay’
punniya	‘full moon day’
tinnaṇa	‘straight’

Medially in clusters

venbe tin	‘to beg’
gaurumenṭu	‘government’
banka	‘gum’
e : nṭi karra	‘pole of a plough’
ma : rnu	‘tree’
barna	‘lines on the cobra’

Finally in bound forms

in	‘to say, to tell something’
man	‘to dwell, live at’
pun	‘understand, to know’

[ṇ]

In the production of this sound the tip of the tongue is curled back and raised to touch the hard palate to block the air current. The vocal cords vibrate. The soft palate is lowered, so that the air current passes through the nasal cavity.

This is called the voiced retroflex nasal.

nammi	'to hope'
naromi	'brain'
na : gṛa	'naked'

Medially between vowels

puna:di	'foundation'
mettani	'soft'
kuttinai	'stitching'
ven	'listen'

Medially in gemination

kannu	'eye'
baṇḍihanni osso	'purgative'
sunnomi	'clay'
punniya	'full moon day'
tinnaṇa	'straight'

Medially in clusters

venbe tin	'to beg'
gaurumenṭu	'government'
banka	'gum'
e : nṭi karra	'pole of a plough'
ma : rnu	'tree'
barna	'lines on the cobra'

Finally in bound forms

in	'to say, to tell something'
man	'to dwell, live at'
pun	'understand, to know'

[ṇ]

In the production of this sound the tip of the tongue is curled back and raised to touch the hard palate to block the air current. The vocal cords vibrate. The soft palate is lowered, so that the air current passes through the nasal cavity.

This is called the voiced retroflex nasal.

It occurs in the environments given in the examples below.

Examples :

Medially between vowels

haŋŋuṇi	'small basket'
paddu : ṇi	'big bat'
leŋŋuṇi	'tail'
ja : leṇi	'sieve with big holes'

Medially before homorganic stop

uṇḍa	'pulley'
piṇḍa	'oilcake'
ka : ṇḍa	'rafter'
muṇḍa	'pillar'
riṇḍi	'two'

Medially in clusters

cecṇa pa : ta	'rock'
baṇbiki :	'to escape'
ja : ṇva	'twin'
pa : ṇmi	'to crumble'
maṇkhi	'erase'
taṇhi	'to pray'
meṇha	'man, husband'
mṇi	'to act'
gṇaphi :	'jump across'
pa : ṇ ? i	'old'
ṭipṇi	'tiffin'
paŋgṇi	'killing a person by witch craft
biṇdṇa	'chisel'
deŋgṇe ? esi	'bachelor'

Finally in bound forms

u : ṇ	'to drink'
paiṇ	'to bear'
asseli hoṇ	'to chase'

[ñ]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is blocked by raising the centre of the tongue to touch the hard palate. The vocal cords vibrate. The soft palate is lowered so that the air current escapes through the nasal cavity.

This is called the voiced palatal nasal.

This occurs only before the palatal affricate.

Examples :

pañčadara	'sugar'
pa : ñǰi	'prediction'
kuñči	'lock'
ka : ñǰu	'stick'

[ŋ]

In the production of this sound the air current coming from the lungs is blocked by raising the back of the tongue to touch the soft palate. The vocal cords vibrate. The soft palate is lowered so that the air current escapes through the nasal cavity.

This is called the voiced velar nasal.

This occurs in the environment given in the examples below.

Examples :

Medially in gemination

beŋŋa	'anxiety'
baŋŋa : ra	'gold'
ḍoŋŋã : a	'to steal'
leŋŋuṇi	'tail'
loŋŋĩ	'surrender'
pi : luŋŋu	'corpse'
aŋŋapa : ṛa	'yard'

Medially before homorganic stop

anga	'body'
jo : ngi	'to thatch'
peŋku	'tile'
taŋgama : ŋga	'grand daughter'
ṛeŋki	'to sharpen, to grate'
laŋga	'petticoat'
ḍa : ŋgeri	'name of a star'

Medially in clusters

karŋiki :	'to melt'
mulŋa	'drumstick'
gurŋi	'mutter (speak indistinctly)'
maŋgḍa : ra	'Tuesday'
deŋgṇe ? si	'bachelor'

Fricatives :

[v]

In the production of this sound the lower lip is raised to touch the upper teeth but the passage in not closed. There is a narrow opening between the lips and the teeth through which the air current squeezes out with friction. The vocal cords vibrate and the soft palate is raied.

This is called the voiced labio-dental fricative.

This occurs in the environments given in the examples below·

Examples :

Initially before vowels

ve :	'to beat (a drum), to blow (as wind)'
ven	'to hear, to ask (a question)'
vi : ḍi	'to shake'
ve : hṇi	'hot'

Initially in clusters

vra : li	'to wither (as a plant)'
vṛi : hki	'to massage'
vri : hka dro : gi	'lizard'

Medially between vowels

juve : ṛi	'yoke'
tirivi ki :	'to turn around'
lavaŋgi	'clove'

Medially in gemination

avva	'sister-in-law'

Medially in clusters

kevṭu	'fisherman'
handi hurvi	'big beans'
pa : rva	'hoe'
saṛva	'dining plate'
ja : ṇva	'twin'

[s]

In the production of this sound the tip of the tongue is raised to touch the alveolar ridge but the passage is not closed. There is a narrow opening between them for the air current to squeeze through producing friction. The vocal cords do not vibrate and the soft palate is raised.

This is called the voiceless alveolar fricative.

It occurs in the environments given in the examples below.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

sira	'ink'
sa : so :	'wife's elder sister'

sanibara	'Monday'
se : ba ki :	'to nurse'
sitta kaḍḍa	'brook'
sakala ? esi	'washerman'

Initially in clusters

sriŋgiseppa	'the ring worn in the middle toe'

Medially between vowels

evasi	'he (distant)'
oṇisi	'ninteen'
ma ? esi	'day after tomorrow'
la : ? isi	'morning'

Medially in gemination

kassuli	'used cloth'
osso	'medicine'
bussuki :	'to hiss'

Medially in clusters

ṛu : sta	'smooth'
kusti	'wrestling'
kaske : ri	'centipede'
ne : sturi hi :	'breath in (inhale)'
vi : spala ? esi	'beggar'
gamsa	'hand towel'
kursa	'short'
kaṛsakommo	'a kind of ear ring'
a : lsomi	'late'
kamsala ? esi	'goldsmith'

Finally :

po : lis	'police'

[ṣ]

In the production of this sound the tip of the tongue is curled back and raised to touch the hard palate but the passage is not closed. There is a narrow opening between them for the air current to squeeze through producing friction. The vocal cords do not vibrate and the soft palate is raised.

This is called the voiceless retroflex fricative.

This occurs only before retroflex stops.

Examples :

kaṣṭominiŋga	'difficult'
muṣṭi vi : h	'to beg'
ma : ṣṭru	'teacher'

[h]

In the production of this sound the vocal cords are brought together to the extent of leaving a narrow opening for the air-current to squeeze through producing friction. They do not vibrate.

This is called the glottal fricative.

This occurs in the environments given in the examples below.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

hoṇ	'to run'
herra	'fodder'
husre ? esi	'husband's elder brother'
he : ppinasi	'sweeper'
ha : gu	'sky'

Medially between vowels

ra : hãni : nga	'delight happiness'
jo : ṛahã	'marriage messenger'
ka : va hippa	'young one of a crow'
rohlahã	'blacksmith'

Medially in clusters

e : hki	‘thirst’
ve : hni	‘hot’
puhpi ki :	‘to wean (a child)’
ehmu	‘pick the fruit’ (Imp)
dehra a :	‘to be jealous’
kohṛa	‘grain’
kehla	‘petal’
mah ? ã	‘mango’
ṛukhi :	‘to hide, to conceal’
aṭhi : tari	‘companions’
meṇha	‘husband, man’
ja : phi :	‘to teach’
attubuṛhi	‘grand mother’
muṇkhi	‘to sink’
goṇkhi	‘to stir (while cooking)’
tirphi	‘to role up’

Finally in bound forms

to : h	‘to show’
doh	‘to pay’
meh	‘to see, to open’
veh	‘to say, to inform’
re : h	‘to make, to wander’
pa : h	‘to unroll’
mrih	‘to tame’

Laterals :

[l]

In the production of this sound the air current is blocked at the median line of the oral cavity by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the teeth ridge. The air current however is allowed to pass by either side of the tongue. The vocal cords vibrate and the soft palate is raised.

This is called the voiced alveolar lateral.

This occurs in the environments given in the examples below.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

lo : ku	'people'
lo : vo	'peak'
leŋŋuṇi	'tail'
laŋga	'petti-coat'
lajjaniŋga	'shy'
lavaŋi	'clove'
la : gi	'blame'

Medially between vowels

telivi	'clever'
ja : leṇi	'sieve with big holes'
ko : villi	'temple'

Medially in gemination

pulla	'acidity, sourness'
vellu	'bow'
vella ki :	'to bleach'
allomi	'ginger'

Medially in clusters

palka	'teeth'
holka	'oven'
mulna	'drumstick'
kolta	'size'
polpu	'rope to tie the animals to a peg'
jilki se : ruhũ	'big necklace covering the neck' chest and belly'
sulkana	'light'
rohle ? esi	'blacksmith'
kehla	'petal'
kamla	'orange'
maylu	'mile'
orli	'rat'

[ḷ]

In the production of this sound the air current is blocked at the median line of the oral cavity by curling back and raising the tip of the tongue to touch the hard palate. The air current, however, is allowed to pass by either side of the tongue. The vocal cords vibrate and the soft palate is raised.

This is called the voiced retroflex lateral.

This occurs only after the retroflex stop.

Examples :

poṭḷaka : ya	'snake gourd'

Flaps :

[r]

In the production of this sound the tip of the tongue is tapped once against the teeth ridge in quick succession. The vocal cords vibrate and the soft palate is raised upwards to close the nasal passage.

This is called the voiced alveolar flap.

This occurs in the environments given in the examples below :

Examples :

Initially before vowels

riṇḍi	'two'
raggu	'rug'
raŋgu	'colour'
rampomi	'saw'
reylibaṇḍi	'train'

Medially between vowels

ko : ru	'scraper'
evari	'they'
u : rika : ya	'pickle'

Medially in clusters

kri : yu	'ear'
tra : ka	'heads'
dre : pi	'to saw'
mra : nu	'tree, wood'
ḍro : gi	'mushroom grown on trees'
bre :	'overflow'
pre : hiah	'overtake'
parpu	'bed'
korgo	'big hollow in a tree'
karŋi	'to melt'
darpeṇi	'mirror'
ku : rḍi	'stalk of a plant'
burda	'mud'
varda	'flood'
parti	'cotton'
kursa	'short'
pa : rva	'hoe'
termbi	'roll (turn over), wallow'
virkhi :	'to unravel'
ma : rṋde ? esi	'husband's younger brother'
tirphi	'to roll up'
kokri	'young'
ka : ṭri	'knife'
ḍokra	'husband'
a : supatri	'hospital'
samudromi	'sea'
ma : ṣṭru	'teacher'
baṇṭro : ti	'attendant'
aḍapuṇḍra	'husband and wife'
te :ndranahãsiniki :	'squint'
gaṋdri	'dirty'
ṭe : bri pakka	'left side'

Finally in bound forms

ir	'to strike (with hand)'
per	'to raise, to life'

pe : r	‘to drive (cattle)’
mar	‘to lie down’

[ṛ]

In the production of this sound the tip of the tongue is tapped once against the hard palate and is withdrawn immediately Thus only a single tap is produced unlike in the production of the trill where a succession of taps are produced. The vocal cords vibrate and the soft palate, is raised.

This is called the voiced retroflex flap.

It occurs in the environments given in the examples below.

Examples :

Initially before vowels

ṛu:	‘to plough’
ṛi:h	‘to kindle’
ṛi:ñǰi	‘to light, to catch fire’
ṛuggi	‘ to hide’
ṛĩ:vɪrika	‘cold’

Medially between vowels

jo:ṛi	‘pair’
lu:ṛa	‘lip’
li:ṛi	‘to bend forth’
iṭke:ṛi	‘storey’
okkapa:ṛa	‘bath room’

Medially in clusters

mṛa:lu	‘hare’
vṛi:hki	‘to massage’
tṛe:lu	‘cream’
pṛa:li	‘hive of a wasp’
koṛga	‘tender leaf’
koṛta	‘gram’

ba:r̥yu	‘strength, strong’
kar̥sakommi	‘kind of ear ring’
sar̥va	‘dining plate’
bor̥ga	‘crutch’
bar̥ti	‘lamp’
ugr̥aa:	‘to slip (come loose, as a knot)
supr̥i	‘wrinkled’
ha:br̥a	‘crowbar’
sohr̥i ki:	‘to fondle a lady’
na:gr̥a	‘naked’

Semi Vowel :

[w]

In the production of this sound the lips are rounded as in [u] and a passage is formed between the lips for the air current to pass through without friction. The soft palate is raised and the vocal cords vibrate.

This is called the voiced bilabial semi-vowel.

This occurs only in the following environments.

Medially between vowels

ji:wu	‘affection, love’
la:wu	‘bottle gourd’

Medially in clusters

sa:wka:ri	‘money lender’
juruwdonna	‘a gruel cup made of leaves’

Finally

pa:w	‘quarter of a measure’
miyõw	‘mew (as a cat)’

[y]

In the production of this sound the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. It does not touch the hard palate and a passage is formed between the tongue and the palate for the air current to pass through without friction. The vocal cords vibrate and the soft palate is raised.

This is called the voiced palatal semivowel.

This occurs only in the medial pasition.

Medially between vowels

o:yi	'to break (as a pot)'
e:yu	'water'
to:yã	'fly'
miriyelika	'black gram'

Medially in gemination

ayya	'mother, woman'
mē̃yyī̃	'to graze (as a cattle)
ṛeyyi	'to break'
ayyavayi	'hers'
ru:yki:	'melt'
meyjo:ḍu	'sock'
maylu	mile
bō̃yso	age
mi:nu puyri	'fish'
reylibandi	'train'
ba:ṛyu	'strength, strong'
dairyam maṇisi	'courage'

3. Phonetic Drill

3. Minimal and subminimal pairs of consonants and vowels are given below and focus on pairs of sounds which differ from one another only in one or two aspects. These words may be used for drilling, which will help the learner recognize differences and produce them correctly when speaking.

3. 1 Vowels.

3. 1. 1 Short vs Long.

[i]		[i:]	
ri	two	ri:	‘to rain, to fall down while walking or standing.
ki	otherwise, or	ki:	to do, to finish doing some thing
[e]		[e:]	
re	to abate, to become less	re:	to jump down, to descend, to wander.
ve	boil (as rice)	ve:	blow (as wind), beak (as drum).
de ? i	I will open	de:?i	I will wipe off
ekhi : tesi	he loaded the cart	e:khi :tesi	he opened the mouth.
[u]		[u:]	
un	to drink, to smoke	u : ṇ	small, little
juṛi	companion, girl friend	ju:ṛi	a count of two bundles of grass
guṇḍa	flour	gu :ṇḍa	a tablet made out of some herbs.

[o]		[o:]	
oh	to hitch	o :h	to break (a pot)
do	last stay, in one condition	no :	ache, pain

[a]		[a:]	
hah	to clap hands	ha :h	to distribute
ha ? ĩ	I will go	ha: ? ĩ	I will die
hahmu	clap hands (Imp)	ha:hmu	distribute (Imp)
kaṇḍa	piece of flesh	kaṇḍa	rafter
raŋgu	colour	ra:ŋgu	breast

3. 1. 2 High Vs Low.

[i]		[e]	
li	to stand	le	to hang up on a hook
ri	two	re	to abate (become less)
ginni	small cymbal	ginne	a kind of dining plate
bitti	bride's money	bitte	span
na:ngili	plough, name of a star	na:ngeli	plough
ḍa:ngiri	rectangular bamboo mat	ḍa:ngeri	name of star
imbaʔã	here	embaʔã	there
ihmu	twist the rope (Imp)	ehmu	pick the fruit (Imp)

[i:]		[e:]	
ri :	to rain	re :	to jump
ji : nu	saddle	je :nu	back (body part)
hi : ru	root of plant	he :ru	pair of bullocks
vi : r	collapse (of a house)	be :r	over flow

[u]		[o]	
uṇḍa	pulley	oṇḍa	meals, food
uste	she pounded (the grain)	oste	she broke the pot
guhmu	swallol (Imp)	gohmu	smoke, drink (Imp)

a: ṭṭu	attic	a:ṭṭo	eight
kommu	horn	konno	corner

[u:]		[o:]	
gu:ṛu	jaggery	go:ṛu	milkman
lu:ṛa	lip	lo:ṛu	cockroach
tu:ŋgi	to move back and forth	to:ŋgi	to swing

3. 1. 3 Front Vs Back Vs Central.

[i]		[u]	
ivi	they	uvi	they
po :ti	book	po :tu	male
va:hi	to tire, to wear	va:hu	tiredness
meḍḍi	to push	meḍḍu	stubbornness
paḍgi	to slant	paḍgu	the rope used to tie the luggage on the cart

[e]		[o]	
este?ẽ	I picked it	oste?ẽ	I broke it
gesti	you (sg) tore the cloth	gosti	you (sg) smoked, I drank
le	to hang up (on a hook)	lo	to last
bo:re	both	bo:ro	boon
ṛo?e	down, under	ṛo:?o	soot

[e:]		[o:]	
e:rhi	to sift	o:rhi	to endure
le:h	to take a heavy object	lo:h	to bend a stick
pe:r	to drive the cattle	po:r	to ambush
re:h	to make, to wander	ro:h	to insert
le:ṛu	kite	lo:ṛu	cockroch
he:ru	pair of bullocks	ho:ru	mountain
he:n	to see	ho:ṇ	to run away

[i:]		[u:]	
ki:	to do, to finish	ku:	to dislike (doing something) to refuse
ri:	chirp (as birds)	ṛu:	plough
[e]		[a]	
ehmu	pick something (Imp)	ahmu	catch something (Imp)
veh	to say, to inform	vah	to roast, to fry
o:ṛe	again	o:ṛa	boat
[e:]		[a:]	
me:ḍa a:	to find	ma:ḍa a:	to fight (with each other)
re:	to jump	ra:	to finish
pre:	to chase, to drive away	pṛa:	to obtain
[o]		[a]	
ma:fo	we (incl)	ma:ra	wing
lakko	over, above	lakka	at the rate of
goh ? ã	do not drink	gah ? ã	do not fasten
[o:]		[a:]	
jo:li	to talk, to speak with some one	ja.li	lace, net
no:	to pain, nine	na:	my

3. 1. 4 Oral VS Nasal

pa:ṇ?i	old	pa:ṇ?ĩ	I will kive birth tc a child
ko:ḍi	bull	ko:dĩ	bullocks
ka:te?e	she will not wait for us	ka:te?ẽ	I waited
to:ste?e	she will not show to us	to:ste?ẽ e	I showed

pa:rte?e	she will not sell to us	pa:rte?ẽ	I sold it
goh?õ	I will not drink	gõh?õ	cashew fruit
mar?a	wild cat	mar?ã	do not lie up side down

Vowel Cluster VS Glottal Stop

roo:li	'once'	doṇḍo?o:ṇi	'black ant'
ko:ṛgai	'that which is tender'	ko:ṛga?i	'those which are tender'
ko:ḍiĩ	'bulls'	po:ṭi?i	'child's penis'

3. 2 Consonants

3. 2 Voiced vs Voiceless.

[p]		[b]	
pa:ṛa	composition of a folk song	ba:ṛu	work, labour
pa:la	seedlings for transplantation	ba:la	spear
pa:lu	milk	ba:lu	bear
parpu	bed	parbu	festival
pa:pu	false, sin	pa:bu	father's younger brother
rampomi	saw	tambomi	pillar
ḍappu	a kind of drum	ḍabbu	wealth

[t]		[d]	
ta:ṛi	banana	da:ṛi	persuasion, attack a man
ta:ta	grand father	ta:da	elder brother
ta:da	elder brother	da:da	elder brother
ta:ti	sun, heat	ta:di	grand father
potti	book	poddi	plant (somewhat grown)
sotto	truth, true	soddo	fourteen
ban̲ti	ball	han̲di	finger joint

[ṭ]		[ḍ]	
ṭakka	a rupee	ḍakka	famous person
ka:ṭi	sparrow	ka:ḍi	load
ku:ṭa	cubit	ku:ḍa	cage
hu:ṭi	to point not by the finger	hu:ḍi	to burn
suṇṭi	dried ginger	suṇḍi	to shut a door
buṭṭi	a kind of barn	buḍḍi	lamp
[e]		[j]	
ci:ni	sngar	ji:nu	saddle
gocca	shrub thicket	gojja	kind of jack fruit
pacci	to scratch (an itch)	pajji	pig
[č]		[ǰ]	
tañči	to scratch (an itch)	tañǰi	'father'
[k]		[g]	
kut	to piece	gun	to knock loudly
ku:ṛa	family name	gu:ṛa	hut
ku:ḍu	wall	gu:ṛu	jaggery
kuṛiya	younger brother's wife, daughter-in-law	guṛiya	dry field
ba:ka	curse	ba:ga	share, part
ga:lipaŋka	'fan'	ja:laranŋga	'sailor'
mokko	plant	moggo	bud
[k]		[?]	
marka	stain	mar?a	kind of wild cat
he:rka	yoke, pair of bullocks	her?a	a sweet made of flour and jaggery

3. 2. 2 Short vs Long Consonants :

[p]		[pp]	
ke:pe	make (produce an artifact)	ke:ppi	'carve'

sa:pu	‘smooth’	su:ppu	‘tube’
[b]		[bb]	
lebu	price	ḍabbu	wealth
[t]		[tt]	
ta:ta	grand father	sa:tta	seven
ha:tahã	cubit	a:tti:yã	birth
[d]		[dd]	
gadi	room	gaddi	throne
[ṭ]		[ṭṭ]	
pa : ṭa	rafter	pa : ṭṭa	girdle
[ḍ]		[ḍḍ]	
ho : ḍini-lehẽki	make to enter	a : ḍḍinlehẽki	make to endure
kalabaḍi	defy	iṭikibeḍḍe	‘brick’
[k]		[kk]	
jakala	even though	jakkala	ignorant person
[g]		[gg]	
pogiṟi	boast	kuggori	sparrow
ro :gomi	disease	maggomi	loom
[c]		[cc]	
muciki :	close (a bag)	mucciki :	plug (a leak)
la : ci	measure (volume)	ra : cci	wash (clothes)
[j]		[jj]	
ma : ji	ripen	a : jji	hail
koṛava	fat	huvva	small well
[s]		[ss]	
ro?osi	one person	osso	medicine
pa : so	five	bassu	bus
[m]		[mm]	
do:mate:ra	mosquito net	kommami:la	twig
samudromi	sea	emminayi	where

[n]		[nn]	
tona	jackfruit stalk	donna	cup made of leaves
danomi	wealth	sannomi	lean

[ṇ]		[ṇṇ]	
puṇimbiki:	‘spread out (something)	kaṇṇugi:ṭi	wink (at)

[ŋ]		[ŋŋ]	
saŋasa:ri	rich man	aŋŋapa:ṛa	yard

[l]		[ll]	
boʔala	lung	balla	state
tole	with	ḍolla	stick

[y]		[yy]	
aḍḍeyi	cross	neyyi	germinate
taṛiya	dining plate	iccayya	father’s younger brother’s wife

3. 2. 3. Difference in point of articulation.

[t]		[ṭ]	
ha : ta	cubit	ha:ṭa	weekly market place
ha:ti	dead	ha:ṭi	to call, to invite
u:thi	to make wet, to dampen, to drench	u:ṭhi	make some one drink

[d]		[ḍ]	
di:te	it rained	ḍi:te	it broke
do:ru	name	ḍo:ri	rope
adda	half	aḍḍa	a measure used for measuring grains
meddi	to come down, to be in agreement with	meḍḍi	to push
buddi	cleverness	buḍḍi	lamp

[c]		[č]	
ra:ccu	snake	mañču	dew
pacci	scratch (an itch)	sañči	bag

[j]		[ǰ]	
su:ja	tail of scorpion	no:puñǰa	¾ of a rupee
te:jo	mud floor	ka:ñǰu	stick

[n]		[ṋ]	
panḍiki	to make. to send	ka:ṋdiri	anger, hatred
ja:ngi	stray (become last)	ka:ṋdi	boil

[n]		[ṇ]	
mettani	soft	edaṇi	her's
tona	jackfruit stalk	duṇa	fried in oil

[n]		[ŋ]	
penna	pen	beŋŋa	a niety
donno	a cup made of leaves	ḍoŋŋa	thief

[s]		[ṣ]	
kusti	wrestling	koṣṭo	difficult

3.2.4 Manner of articulation.

[k]		[h]	
ka:	to watch, to wait for	ha:	to die
ki	to do, to finish	hi:	to give
ka:ṭi	sparrow	ha:ṭi	to call, to invite
ka:ru	motor car	ha:ru	salt
katti	to chop, to cut	hatti	elephant
kakki	to vomit	hakki	hunger
kiṭṭi	to comb (hair)	hiṭṭi	to share some body
u:ki	to blow pipe	u:hi	to plant
e:khi	to uncover, to open the mouth	e:hki	thirst

[?]		[h]	
a:ba?ã	to the man (acc)	a:bahã	men, fathar

ga:yi?ĩ	the cow (acc)	ga:yihĩ	cows
ko:ḍru?u	a he-bufalo (acc)	ko:ḍruhũ	he bufallos
ṭu:ṇ?atesi	he did not cut that	tu:ṇhatesi	he cut us
[b]		[v]	
be:la	season	vella	bright light
simbomi	lion	sĩvõsi	pus
[ṭ]		[ṛ]	
ta:ṭi	date, palm	ta:ṛi	banana
baṭa	share	ba:ṛa	work, labour
[ḍ]		[ṛ]	
ḍuttesi	he tapped	ṛuttesi	he ploughed
o:ḍa	goat	o:ṛa	boat
ku:ḍa	cage for animals	ku:ṛa	family name
ko:ḍi	bullock	ko:ṛi	lion cloth
na:ḍa	stalk	naṛa	canal
guḍiya	field, dry land	guṛiya	confectioner
ka:ḍine	will get roasted	ka:ṛine	black
[ṛ]		[r]	
ṛi:	to weep, to chirp to howl	ri:	to rain, to fall down
ṛañja	wooden support for the creeper	rañja	to put legs on some body, to throw away water
o:ṛa	boat	o:ra	furrow
ka:ṛu	liquor	ka:ru	car
ko:ṛi	small cloth on privities worn by poor	ko:ri	to wish for
te:ṛi	last	te:ri	to dig
do:ṛi	litter, swing	ḍo:ri	rope
go:ṛa	horse	go:ra	kind of movable oven
go:ṛu	milk man, shepherd, herdsman	go:ru	finger nail
pa:ṛa	folk song	pa:ra	useful

sa:ṛi	noise, sound	sa:ri	fan, the girl friend who is newly acquainted
pṛakhi	to cover with a cloth	prakhi	to gargle
[i]		[r]	
laggo	above, over	roggo	illness
ki:la	straw	gi:ra	line
ḍovili	sickle	ḍoveri	pandal
ko:lu	pestle	ko:ri	to wish for
[s]		[h]	
so:	six	ho:	to start begin (a work)
sa:ri	four, girl friend who is newly acquainted	ha:ri	to remain (after spending
sa:so	wife's elder sister, husband's elder sister	ha:so	elder sister-in law

4. Phonemic Inventory

In Chapter–2 a number of Kuvi speech sounds were described. These various sounds can be grouped into classes on the basis of their distribution. If two or more phonetically similar sounds are in complementary distribution, *i.e.*, one does not occur where the others occur, then they can be grouped into a class which makes a phoneme. All the phonemes thus arrived at will be in contrastive distribution. *i.e.*, the replacement of one with the other will change the meaning of the word. These phonemes are the significant sounds in a language and an efficient system of orthography has one to one correspondence with these phonemes.

In Kuvi, for instance, the distribution of c and č are complementary. č occurs after the palatal nasal and c occurs elsewhere. The occurrence of either of these two is predictable, and hence these two sounds can be grouped together into a single phoneme.

On the other hand, the distribution of [?] and [h], both of which are produced in the glottal region, is contrastive. Both occur in the same environment and hence are not predictable. They further distinguish one utterance from another. Hence, these two cannot be grouped into one phoneme but must be treated as two distinct phonemes *i.e.*, /?/ and /h/.

The phonemic inventory of Kuvi obtained on the basis of contrast is as follows. The class members of these phonemes, *i.e.*, allophones, are given next.

Vowels :

	Front	*Central*	*Back*
High	i		u
Mid	e		o

	Front	*Central*	*Back*
Low		a	
Co-articulation :			
Length	:		
Nasalization	~		

Consonants :

	Lab.	*Lab-dent.*	*Den.*	*Alve.*	*Alveo-Pala.*	*Retro.*	*Vel.*	*Glo.*
Stop	p b		t d			ṭ ḍ	k g	?
Affricate					c j			
Fricative		v		s				h
Nasal	m			n		ṇ	ŋ	
Lateral				l				
Flap				r		ṛ		
Semi-vowel					y			

Allophonic Distribution :

Vowels :

/i/	[i]	High front unrounded vowel. This occurs everywhere.
/e/	[e]	High-mid front unrounded vowel. This occurs everywhere.
/u/	[u]	High back rounded vowel. This occurs everywhere.
/o/	[o]	High-mid back rounded vowel. This occurs everywhere.
/a/	[a]	Low central unrounded vowel. This occurs everywhere.

Length occurs with all vowels : /i:/ /e:/ /u:/ /o:/ /a:/

Nasalisation occurs with all vowels : /ĩ/ /ĩ:/ /ẽ/ /ẽ:/ /ũ/ /ũ:/ /õ/ /õ:/ /ã/ /ã:/.

Consonants :

Kuvi is a vowel ending language and so the occurrence of consonants in word final position is very rare. If at all they occur, they occur only in loan words, onomatopoeic words, and bound morphemes. Therefore in the environments given below everywhere excludes word final position.

/p/	[p]	Voiceless bilabial stop. This occurs everywhere.
/b/	[b]	Voiced bilabial stop. This occurs everywhere.
/t/	[t]	Voiceless dental stop. This occurs every where.
/d/	[d]	Voiced dental stop. This occurs everywhere.
/ṭ/	[ṭ]	Voiceless retroflex stop. This occurs everywhere.
/ḍ/	[ḍ]	Voiced retroflex stop. This occurs everywhere.
/k/	[k]	Voiceless velar stop. This occurs everywhere.
/g/	[g]	Voiced velar stop. This occurs everywhere.
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	Glottal stop. This occurs everywhere.
/c/	[č]	Voiceless palatal affricate. This occurs after the nasal.
	[c]	Voiceless alveolar affricate. This occurs elsewhere.
/j/	[ǰ]	Voiced palatal affricate. This occurs after the nasal
	[j]	Voiced alveolar affricate. This occurs elsewhere.

/v/	[w]	Voiced bilabial semi-vowel. This occurs before back vowels or after back or central vowel followed by a consonants or word juncture.
	[v]	Voiced labio dental fricative This occurs elsewhere.
/s/	[ṣ]	Voiceless retroflex fricative. This occurs before retroflex stops.
	[s]	Voiceless alveolar fricative. This occurs elsewhere.
/h/	[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative. This occurs everywhere.
/m/	[m]	Voiced bilabial nasal. This occurs everywhere.
/n/	[n̪]	Voiced dental nasal. This occurs before the dental stop.
	[ñ]	Voiced palatal nasal. This occurs before the affricate.
	[n]	Voiced alveolar nasal. This occurs elsewhere.
/ṇ/	[ṇ]	Voiced retroflex nasal. This occurs everywhere.
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	Voiced velar nasal. This occurs everywhere.
/l/	[ḷ]	Voiced retroflex lateral. This occurs with retroflex stops.
	[l]	Voiced alveolar lateral. This occurs elsewhere.
/r/	[r]	Voiced alveolar flap. This occurs everywhere.
/ṛ/	[ṛ]	Voiced retroflex flap. This occurs everywhere.
/y/	[y]	Voiced palatal semi-vowel. This occurs everywhere.

5 Graphemic Representation

Kuvi, like the majority of the tribal languages of India, does not have a script of its own. Foreign missionaries like Rev. F.V.P. Schulze and Rev. Weinfield, used the Roman script to write down Kuvi in the last century.

In the socio-economic interests of the Kuvi people it is suggested that the Oriya script, which is the script of the dominant language in the region, may be adapted for writing Kuvi in the Orissa State. The use of Oriya script will make easy the switchover from Kuvi to Oriya for the Kuvi children in the school. The efforts of Shri Gopinath Mohanty, who has produced Kuvi books in Oriya script, deserve special mention.

No reform of Oriya script is attempted here. The modifications have been kept to the minimum. The conventions of the writing system of Oriya are retained as far as possible. The major difference is that the phonetic value of the inherent vowel of the consonant is [a] and not [ɔ] as in Oriya. Consequently, when Oriya teachers teach Kuvi and Oriya is taught to the Kuvi children, this factor has to be treated as a special teaching point.

The following chart gives the Kuvi phonemes with their graphemic representation based on the Oriya script.

a	ଆ	k	କ
a:	ଆଆ	g	ଗ
i	ଇ	ŋ	ଙ
i:	ଇଇ	c	ଚ
u	ଉ	j	ଜ

u:	ଊ
e	ଏ
e:	ଏଏ
o	ଓ
o:	ଓଓ

ṭ	ଟ
ḍ	ଡ
ṇ	ଣ
t	ତ
d	ଦ
n	ନ
p	ପ
b	ବ
m	ମ
y	ୟ
r	ର
ṛ	ଡ଼
l	ଲ
v	ୱ
s	ଷ
h	ହ
?	?
~	ଁ

Kuvi has five long vowels, *viz.*, i: e: u: o: and a: corresponding to the short ones. In Oriya, on the other-hand, vowel length is generally non-distinctive. There are only a few cases where short and long vowels contrast. The writing system has graphemic symbols for the long i:, u: and a: but not for the long e: and o:. So two new symbols are required to represent e: and o: of Kuvi. There is a convention in Oriya to write the long vowels except a: which has no short counterpart, with two consecutive short vowels. The convention may be extended to write the long vowels e: and o: also with two consecutive short vowels e and o respectively. This convention may be further extended to write the long vowel i: and u: and a: as a sequence of two short vowels. But as mentioned above there is no short counterpart for the vowel a: in Oriya. Hence, the symbol for a: can be used to represent the short a and the long a: may be represented by the sequence of this symbol. Thus the long vowels in Kuvi may be represented as given below:

a:	ଆଆ	to become, to happen
a:ku	ଆଆକୁ	leaf, page
i:	ଇଇ	this, these
i:ṭa	ଇଇଟ	brick
u:	ଉଉ	those, that (intermediate)
u:ṭa	ଉଉଟ	a spring (of water), font
e:gi	ଏଏଗି	pole of a plough
e:di	ଏଏଦି	that (distant)
o:	ଓଓ	to get (come and get)
o:c˚	ଓଓଚ	to put on (cloths)

The matra symbol for the long vowels except a: in combination with consonants is the full symbol for the short vowel. Thus the matra for the long vowel is the matra for the short vowel followed by full short vowel.

ki:ra	କିଇର	parrot
kiski:ri	କିସ୍କିଇରି	a king of big scorpion
ku:ṭa	କୁଉଟ	cubit with first
ku:ya	କୁଉୟ	millet
ke:yu	କେଏୟୁ	hand
ke:rṭeni	କେଏର୍ଟେଣି	jaw
ko:ṭra	କୋଓଟ୍ର	wild goat
ko:ḍi	କୋଓଡି	bull, ox
ka:ḍi	କଆଡି	loan (of a cart)
karka:ṭi	କର୍କଆଟି	a species of fish

The matra symbol for long a: is the full symbol for a: following the consonant with the inherent vowel [a]. It must be remembered that the quality of the inherent vowel is [a] in Kuvi and not [ɔ[as in Oriya.

The three phonemes / ṛ /, / v /, and / ? / of Kuvi are not phonemes in Oriya. The retroflex flap / ṛ / is an allophone of the retroflex stop / ḍ / in Oriya. The Oriya writing system has a symbol based on the symbol for / ḍ / to represent the retroflex flap. The same symbol may be used to represent theKuvi phoneme / ṛ / also.

Oriya has a bilabial semi-vowel /w/ which is represented by the grapheme ୱ . Kuvi does not have contrast between /w/ and /v/. So the /v/ of Kuvi may be represented by the symbol ୱ , used for /w/ in Oriya.

Another Kuvi phoneme present for which Oriya has no grapheme is the glottal stop /ʔ/. This may be written with the phonetic symbol itself. The glottal stop, unlike other consonants, does not take any matra. It is either followed and / or preceded by vowels.

Examples :

geʔala	ଗେʔଆଲ	cheek
ja:ykiʔini	ଜଆୟ୍‌କିʔଇନି	papaya
kuʔuin	କୁʔଉଇନ୍	to forbid, prohibit
koʔẽin	କୋʔଏଁଇନ୍	to refuse
goʔoni	ଗୋʔଓନି	a type of mouth organ made of iron, bamboo or straw

In the Oriya writing system consonant clusters are written in four different ways.

(a) The combination gives a new symbol which is altogether different from any one of the two clusters.

Examples :

ଟ୍ଟ tt , ଟ୍ର tr , କ୍ର kr .

(b) A part of the symbol of one of the consonants is integrated with the full symbol of the other consonant.

Examples :

ନ୍ଦ nd , ପ୍ଗ pg , ହ୍ର hr .

(c) The full symbol of second consonant is placed under the full symbol of the initial consonant.

Examples :

ସ୍କ sk , କ୍ନ kn etc.

(d) The ful symbol of the second consonant is placed after the full symbol of the initial consonant. A stroke is marked under the non-final consonants to indicate that it is a pure consonant and has no inherent vowel value.

Examples :

ଷ୍‌ଡ ṣḍ , ବ୍‌ଗ bg etc.

In order to simlify the writing of clusters and to make it consistent, only the last way may be followed to write all the Kuvi clusters. All Kuvi clusters are thus written in a linear sequence using the full symbol of the consonants and marking a stroke, called hal, under the non-final consonants. The stroke is used to mark the word final pure consonant also.

Examples :

kunci	କୁନ୍‌ଚି	lock
kujja	କୁଜ୍‌ଜ	short, dwarf
kuḍri	କୁଡ୍‌ରି	rap
kṛoh	କ୍‌ଡ଼ୋହ୍	to gift’

The following chart gives the Kuvi phonemes with their equivalents in the Devanagari script as suggested in Parivardhit Devanagari published by the Central Hindi Directorate :

Vowels

a	अ
a :	आ
i	इ
i:	ई
u	उ
u:	ऊ
e	एँ
e:	ए
o	औ˘
o:	ओ

Consonants

k	क
g	ग
ŋ	ङ
c	च
j	ज
ṭ	ट
ḍ	ड
ṇ	ण
t	त
d	द
n	न
p	प
b	ब
m	म
y	य
r	र
ṛ	ड़
l	ल
v	व
s	स
h	ह
?	?

A Sample Text

କିର୍ମ୍ବଲି - ତଆଲୁ

ରୋ କିର୍ମ୍ବଲିଙ୍ଗି ରୋ ଗଆମ୍ବି ମଡ଼ତେ. ଏ ଗଆମ୍ବି ରୋ ଦିନତ ନେହିଁ ତଆଲୁ ଢୁଉଷ୍ଟତେ. ରୋ ଦିନ ରଜ୍‌ଜ ଡ୍‌ଗକ୍କି କୋଓଡ଼ୀଇଁ ତଆଲୁ ମୁଉନ୍‌ଜି ହିଟ୍‌ଟେ. ମୁଉନ୍‌ଜି ମଡ଼ଚଆଣି. ରଜ୍‌ଜ ହେୟଣ୍ଡନହୁ 'ନଆ କୋଓଡ଼ି ତଆଲୁ ଢୁଉଷ୍ଟମନ୍‌ନେ. ଇଟ୍‌ଟେଷି ରଜ୍‌ଜ ଓଓପ୍ୀଆଆଟେଷି. କିର୍ମ୍ବଲ, ରଜ୍‌ଜ ରିୀଆଆରି ଚଗ୍‌ଗୁ କୀ ନେଏରି. ଷଦ୍‌ଦୁ ଜଣ ରଜ୍‌ଜ ଓ୍ୱଇୀଏ ଇନ୍‌ନେରି.

କିର୍ମ୍ବଲି 'ନଆନ୍ଦୁ ରୋ ତଗ୍‌ଗୁ ମଣିଷିଇଁ ଚକ୍କିୀଇ ଇନ୍‌ନେଷି, ଇନ୍‌ଜନହିଁ କିର୍ମ୍ବଲି ରୋ ତଗ୍‌ଗୁ ମଣିଷିୀଇଁ ପଲ୍ଲୁଁ ରେଏଜ ମନ୍‌ନେଷି. ଏ ଷମୋମିତ ରୋ ନକ୍କି ଏଡ୍ଡୁଣୀଆ ମେଷ୍ଟଷିନହିଁ ଇମ୍ବିମ୍ବୁ ହଜ୍‌ଜି ମନ୍‌ଜି ଢୋ' ଇନ୍‌ନେ. ନଆ ଗଆମ୍ବିତି ତଆଲୁ ରଜ୍‌ଜ କୋଓଡ଼ୀଇଁ ମୁଉନ୍‌ଜି ହିଜ୍‌ଜେନିୀଏ 'ନଆ କୋଓଡ଼ି ତଆଲୁ ଢୁଷ୍ଟମନ୍‌ନେ ଇନ୍‌ଜିହିଁ' ନଆ ତଆଲୁ ହିଁଇଞ୍ଜି ମନ୍‌ଜେୀଏଷି. ଏକି ରୋ ତଗ୍‌ଗୁ ମଣିଷିଷିୀଇ ପଲ୍ଲିରି ମୀଇ ଇନ୍‌ଜିହିଁ ମେଷ୍ଟଟେଷି କିର୍ମ୍ବଲି ନକ୍କିୀଆଁ ଆମ୍ବିଟ୍ଟିୀଏ ନକ୍କି 'ନଆନ୍ଦୁ ତଗ୍‌ଗୁ ଦିକ୍କିହିୀଇ ଜଆନୁ' ଇନ୍‌ନେଷୁ.

Translation :—

An orphan had a Cow. One day that cow gave birth to a calf One day the Calf went near the King's ploughing bull and smelled it. On seeing this smelling and licking of the Calf, the King said "My bull has given birth to a Calf". The orphan boy said "King, this is my Calf". The King did not agree. The orphan and the king had a dispute. All the people said that the Calf belonged to the King.

The orphan boy said "I will bring a mediator" and he wandered in search of a mediator. On seeing him, a fox said "Heh! Where are you going?" The orphan said "As the Calf of my Cow went to smell the King's Bull, the king says "my bull has given birth to a calf" and refuses to give me back my calf. I am searching for a mediator for that." Then the fox said "You go, I will settle the dispute."